

# CABALS:

OR, THE

## Faction Expos'd.

WITH SOME

## CONSIDERATIONS

FOR A

## Lasting Settlement.

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In a LETTER to a MEMBER of  
PARLIAMENT.

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*I know no Resolutions more worthy a Christian King, than to prefer his  
Conscience before his Kingdoms. K. Charles 1. Eikon Basil. c. 6.*

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L O N D O N,

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CARBALS

Exposition

WITH SOME

CONSIDERATIONS



THE

Author

THE LATTER FOR ROYALTY  
PARLIAMENTARY

LONDON

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SIR,

**H**AD you known how averse I have always been from ripping up old *Sores*, or hitting others on the *Teeth* with their past *Miscarriages*, when they promise to grow wiser and mend their *Manners*, you wou'd not, I am confident, have impos'd upon me so ungrateful a *Task*, as the giving you an account of the *extravagant Proceedings* of some of our late *pretended Patriots*, which promoted, if not occasion'd, the *Tragical Scene* like to have follow'd, had not *Providence* miraculously interpos'd.

But when you assure me, 'tis not only convenient, but very necessary for the Publick Service, in the present posture of Affairs, to expose to the World the *fatal Consequences* of *Factions* and *Cabals*, and the *unwarrantable Resolutions* of a prevailing part of the *Commons* in our two last *Parliaments*, that others may thereby take warning to avoid that unhappy *Rock*, whereon their Predecessors have so unluckily split; this *powerful Charm*, which shall ever Influence all the *Actions* of my *Life*, together with the *weight* of your own *Commands*, have forc'd me at last to a *compliance*. And tho' for the most part, this Subject has been already handled by several *Pens*, and particularly by the *Author* of the *Lawyer Outlaw'd*, who made it his business to shew by several Reasons and Arguments, besides divers *Acts of Parliament*, and a great many *Presidents* and *Records*, that as the *Fears* and *Jealousies* of the *People* were *groundless* and *imaginary*, so the *Resolutions* of the *Leading Members* at that time were *Arbitrary* and *Illegal*, contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the *fundamental Laws* of the *Nation*: Yet at your request, since the *Gentlemen* were pleas'd to get their *Votes Printed*, by way of an *Appeal* to the *People*, I will amongst others briefly offer you my *Thoughts* upon the matter, but after some few preliminaries, will begin mine where that *Gentleman* ended his *Discourse*.

You remember, I suppose, what a *Noise*, what a *Bustle* has  
B been

been made with contriv'd Stories, and continual Alarums of Plots and Conspiracies upon our Religion and Liberty, like the Romans Hannibal ad portas, when there was no danger of either; and what a stir they kept with their tumultuous Petitions and Addresses from all the Fanaticks and Republicans of the Kingdom in Winter 79. for the Parliaments sitting, which alone they thought was able to cure this *Maladie imaginaire*: And yet when the Parliament met, and sat long enough to have redress'd all the reall Grievances of the Nation, our Worthy Patriots ev'n left us in a worse condition than they found us. The late King of ever blessed Memory, whom God has taken from an *ungrateful Generation* that was not worthy of him, to Reign with himself in Glory, offer'd them a great deal more than Subjects ought in duty to expect from their Sovereign; yet nothing but the very unbinding of the Government, by that *Antimonarchical* project the Bill of Exclusion, wou'd in any measure satisfy their Ambition. The Loyal Gentlemen of the Country, who dutifully obey'd their Princes Lawful Proclamation, were toss'd from Post to Pillar by their Catchpoles, and their Ban-Dogs, as Traytors to the People, and kept several Weeks under a tedious and chargeable confinement, without the least pretence of Law, or Colour of Justice: And at the same time Sidney and Ludlow, and all the Republican Gang of 41. who were skulking abroad ever since his late Majesties most happy Restoration, flock'd home with all possible expedition, and were the great Favourites of our Leading Members. But it was certainly a very Comical passage how civilly they treated Mr. William Stawell, one of their Abhorrrers, who had the courage to disobey their unwarrantable Summons, and tell their Messenger, if he did any thing contrary to Law, he wou'd answer for't, as the Law directs, in the same County, where the Fact was committed. The Leading Members were so puzzled at this unexpected Answer, that they knew neither how to digest nor revenge so great an affront, while Mr. Stawell had so much Law of his side; yet thinking it absolutely necessary to find out some Sham or other to blind the World, lest this shou'd be made a Leading Card for others to flight their pretended Authority, they very obligingly Voted the Gentleman sick, and unable to appear before them; and therefore were pleas'd to allow him a months time for his appearance. Votes 4. December 1680.

But

But this, and (if you except the grand project of *Exclusion*) all the other tricks and devices they made use of for eleven Weeks together to *enflame* and *distract* the People, seem'd but a *Flea-bite*, if compar'd with the *unparallell'd Votes* they pass'd some days before they forc'd the King to a *Prorogation*: When *Sampson-like*, who by pulling down the *Pillars* of the *House*, destroy'd more *Philistines* on the day of his *Death*, than in his whole *Life* before, they did more mischief by shaking the *Foundation* of the *Government* the three last days of their sitting, than in all the rest of their turbulent *Reign*.

*Resolved*, (say they) *That His Majesty in His last Message, having assured this House of his readiness to concur in all other means, for the preservation of the Protestant Religion; This House doth declare; that until a Bill be likewise passed for Excluding the D. of York, this House cannot give any supply to His Majesty, without danger to His Majesties Person, extream hazard of the Protestant Religion, and unfaithfulness to those by whom this House is entrusted.* Votes 7th Jan. 1680.

In this Vote we may observe with some Astonishment the great *Condescensions* of a *Gracious Prince*, and the ungrateful *Returns* of a *stubborn People*, who got a *knack*, of late days, to stand upon such *trucking* and *bartering* with their *Sovereign*, as their *Predecessors* durst not have offer'd in former Ages. Once indeed they presum'd on the *Usurpation* of *H. 4.* who, because of his unjust Title, they thought would deny them nothing: And therefore in the Second Year of his *Reign*, *The Commons desired they might have Answer of their Petitions before the gift of any Subsidy*; to which the King answer'd, *He would conferr with the Lords, and do what should be best, according to their Advice.* And the last day of the *Parliament* He gave this Answer, *That that manner of doing had not been seen nor used in no time of His Progenitors or Predecessors, that they should have any Answer of their Petitions, or knowledge of it, before they have shewed and finish'd all their other business of Parliament, be it of any Grant; Business, or otherwise: And therefore the King would not in any ways change the good Customs and Usages made and used of ancient times.* But now, it seems, the case is alter'd, and *No Care, No Money*, is always the *Bargain*.

The *King* proffers to concur with them in all other *Expedients* for their security, without any Limitation or Restriction, against the groundless *Fears* and *Jealousies* they pretended; but the *Hogben-Mogben* scorn'd to accept of any thing He could safely consent to: And therefore when His Majesty press'd them to think of a supply for the relief of *Tangier*, they, as became such *Loyal* and *Dutiful Subjects*, flatly refus'd it, because of the apparent *Danger* it threatn'd to His *Majesties Person*, and to the *Protestant Religion*, if the *Moors* were beaten upon their own *Dunghill*.

Thus all *Expedients* are quite out of doors, and Voted not only *insufficient*, but *dangerous*; and no care must be taken to rescue *Tangier* out of the hands of *Barbarians*, for fear of *hazarding* His *Majesties Person*, and the *Protestant Religion*, by weakning the *Mahometan Interest*: No regard to the growing *Greatness* of *France*, nor the least thought of securing a distracted *Nation* from the Designs of so potent an *Enemy*, and not a *Groat* to be given for the *Honour* and *Wellfare* of the *Kingdom*, without the forbidden fruit, the *Bill of Exclusion*. And so hot they were upon this *unlucky scent*, that like *Æsop's Dog* in the *Manger*, they wou'd neither give any Money themselves, to supply the *Kings urgent Necessities*, and to maintain his *Credit* (wherein was contain'd that of the whole *Nation*) either at home or abroad, nor as much as in them lay, suffer others to part with any; to which purpose, least the *Purse-strings* of the *Nation*, which they kept very close, shou'd chance to fail them, they bethought themselves of an *enchanted Padlock*, never before made use of, for their further *Security*; and to that end they pass'd the following Vote.

*Resolved, That whosoever shall lend, or cause to be lent by way of advance, any Money upon the branches of the Kings Revenue, arising by Customs, Excise, or Hearth-Money, shall be adjudg'd to hinder the sitting of Parliaments, and shall be responsible for the same in Parliament, Votes ibid.*

But why should *Subjects* be condemn'd of this *Rug-bear Crime*, for lending the *King* their own Money upon a *valuable Consideration*? Or why forejudg'd by the *House of Commons*, who never had the *Power of Judicature*? What, are we gone back again to *Forty One*, to be thus *haz-riden* a second time? or can we be  
thought



thought altogether so *stupid*, as to have forgot the *Tyrannical Usage* we then receiv'd from a pack of *Villains*, that call'd themselves the House of *Commons*, and thought their *Nemine Contradicente* was enough to avoid both *Law* and *Gospel*? No Sir, *A burnt Child dreads the Fire*, and the *Nation* having by a *dear bought-Experience* open'd their *Eyes*, are of late more afraid of their fellow-*Subjects Usurpation*, than ever they have been of the *Princes Encroachment*: And therefore this *Unwarrantable Vote* signified no more, but to let the *People* know what they might expect from such *Patriots*, if they had kept any longer in the *Saddle*; since they had as much *Power* to get all the *Money of England* into their *Custody and Disposal*, as to make it *Penal* in any one to dispose of his own, as he pleas'd. But let us hear their *last Speech* and *Confession* on the happy day of their *Prorogation*, which restor'd many an *Honest Man* to his *Liberty*, and the *Nation* to some interval of *Tranquillity*.

*Resolved*, that whosoever advised his Majesty to prorogue this Parliament, to any other purpose than in order to the passing of a Bill for the Exclusion of the Duke of York, is a Betrayer of the King, the Protestant Religion, and of the Kingdom of England; a Promoter of the French Interest, and a Pensioner to France. *Votes* 10. Jan. 1680.

This is but the old *Cant* in a new Dress, and the refin'd Language of *Billingsgate Oratours*, who always think it the best Policy to cry *Whore first*; the better to stop the mouths of their *Adversaries*. But I appeal to any Man of common Sense; if these very Men, even at that time, were not the grand *Promoters* of the *French Interest*, and consequently *Pensioners to France*. For had that *Politick Monarch* employ'd so many *Agents* into *England*, 'tis plain he cou'd not have pitch'd on a surer way to forward his *Designs*, than the dividing and distracting the *People* here; which these *Gentlemen* have notoriously done to the utmost of their *Power*. And to say, they were so *Generous* as to have serv'd him *gratis*, is so far from lessening, that it will much aggravate the *Crime*; since the Man that betrayes his *Country* for a *Reward*, is far more excusable, than he that does it out of meer *Malice* and *Ill-will*. I will easily allow them, which I think no Man



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Man in his *Wits* will deny, that the *French King* has been these many years past, and is like to continue, because 'tis his *Interest*, the great *Disturber* of our *Israels Peace*. He is *sensible*, we are the only *Nation* now able, if united amongst our selves, to give a *Check* to his unlimited *Ambition*, and defeat his long hatch'd *Designs* of an *Univerfal Monarchy*. 'Tis his *Business* therefore to foment our *Differences*, and set us together by the *Ears*, till he finds himself in a *Condition* to fall upon us, and destroy us. He has already found out our *Blind Side*, our frightful *Apprehensions* of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government* upon every *sight*, or rather no occasion, which the *Author* of the *Book* call'd the *Policy of France*, has long since chalk'd out as the most *infallible way* to break us all to pieces. But if we consider what sort of Men have of late years pursued this very *Method*, with more than ordinary *Zeal*, have studied all ways imaginable to enflame the *Nation*, and bring their *Sovereign* into an *odium* with his *People*, and by this *Means* have given the *French* an opportunity to add *Casal* and *Strasbourg*, *Courtray*, *Luxemburg*, and other *Places* of *Importance* to his new *Acquisitions*, and to cast several *Slurs* and *Affronts* upon this *Kingdom* both by *Sea* and *Land*: We shall easily find, that whoever receiv'd the *Pensions*, these very *Gentlemen* that cry so loud against it, were the *grand Promoters* of the *French Interest*. I am sorry this can be said of any, much less of so many of the *Representatives* of the *Commons of England*; or that any should be found among them so unmindful of the *Publick*, or so far infatuated with a *blind unseasonable Zeal* for *Religion*, as instead of opposing the *Common Enemy*, to serve and forward his *Designs*. Yet this much we have to say to our *Comfort*, that even in that *House* there was a *Remnant* left that bow'd not the knee to *Baal*, as *Loyal Subjects*, and as hearty *Lovers* of their *Country*, as ever sat within those *Walls*, tho' still out-voted by the *cunning* and *address* of the *Faction*, who with their plausible *Pretences* of *Religion* and *Liberty*, when they really meant *Slavery* and *Confusion*, by unhinging the best of *Governments*, carried all before them. For 'tis plain, there is nothing more dangerous to our present *Peace* and *future Happiness* than the creating such unlucky *divisions* and *misunderstandings* amongst us; nothing more necessary for our *Preservation*, than a *lasting union* and a *mutual confidence* between *Prince* and *People*: And therefore as  
all

all good Subjects are now satisfied, these Gentlemen were led by another *Bye*, than that of the *Publick* good; so I question not but every true *Englishman* will mark all those for the future, that will run upon the same *Scant*, and look upon them as *Betrayers* of their *Country*, hired by our *Enemies* to prepare us for *Destruction*. But now, I beseech you, could the *Proroguing* of that *Parliament*, be a *promoting* of *French* designs? What have they done, all the while they sat, in opposition to *France*, or what have they omitted to please that *ambitious Prince*, and secure him in his *Conquests*; all their *Votes* and *Resolutions*, their *Addresses* and *Remonstrances* being all along subservient to his *Ends* and *Purposes*? The reason was, I suppose, that having set up for *Popular Patriots*, to please the unthinking *Multitude* in some measure, they thought it necessary to give them a few *Sugar Plums*, by seeming to huff against the *French*, tho' it was the least of their *Thoughts* to disoblige so good a *Friend*: As on the other side they pass'd in the following vote high *Complements* on their zealous *Sticklers* in *London*, who had bin all along very useful to the *Ringleaders* of the *Faction*, to engage them further in the *Cause*.

*Resolved, that the thanks of this House be given to the City of London, for their manifest Loyalty to the King, their care, charge, and vigilancy for the preservation of his Majesties Person, and of the Protestant Religion.* Votes ib.

I wish the Gentlemen, since their *Hand* was in, had so far oblig'd their *Friends* in *London*, as to have given us any one instance either of their *Loyalty* to the *King*, or of their *Care* for the *establish'd Religion*, in the whole course of their unhappy *Government*. I know very well, there were at that time many *Loyal* and *Conscientious* *Protestants* in *London*, whose prudent conduct and management of *Affairs*, has since very much contributed to the *Peace* and *Welfare* of the *Nation*. But at this time they were only *Cyphers*, out of all *Power* and *Command*, and daily run down under the *Notion* of *Tories* and *Papists* in *Masquerade*. As for those *Worthies* here carels'd and applauded for the *Watchmen* of *Israel*, who have since either fled for their *Villanies*, or got under the *Hatches* for several *Misdemeanors*, none but such *Patriots* would have left them unpunish'd, much less have thank'd them for their black *Exploits*;

*Exploits*; who made *London* then the *Nursery* of the *Faction*, as formerly it was the *Seminary* of the late horrid *Rebellion*: where all the wicked *Measures*, all the *illegal Votes* and *unmannerly Addresses*, that have bin since made use of within *Doors* or without, were contriv'd and hammer'd by *Factionous Clubs* and *Cabals*, several Months before the *Parliament* sat, and divers *Copies* distributed among the *Leading men*; whereof the late *King* had a full account given him by a *Gentleman* that seem'd to be of the *Gang*, but was so honest as to let his *Majesty* know the whole *Mystery* of *Iniquity*. In fine, so *Insolent* they were, and so *Violent* against the *Monarchy*, that it was impossible for the *King* to be at ease, or the *Nation* at quiet, while such *Incendiaries* without, to back the *Associators* within *Doors*, had the *management* of the *Capital City*, which in effect is the *Rudder* of the whole *Kingdom*; And therefore all his *Majesties* other endeavours to get the better of the *Faction*, as his now *Proroguing*, then *dissolving* his *Parliaments*, (whereby instead of *mending* they became still more *furius* at their next Meeting) signified no more than *Hercules* in the *Fable* now and then cutting off one of *Hydra's* Heads, which grew double as often as cut off. But when the *King*, having tryed in vain all other *Expedients*, seiz'd upon the *Charter* of *London*, which they had forfeited over and over; then, and not till then, he gain'd a compleat *Victory*, and with that *single blow* cut off all the heads of the *Monster*.

Now the *Associators* finding the *Fanaticks* in *London* so active and so zealous in the *Cause*, 'twas no wonder if in return they made bold a little to stretch both the *Law* and the *Gospel*, to oblige such useful and necessary *Tools*; especially when they cou'd ease their *Friends*, and run down their *Enemies* with the same *Breath*: And therefore 'tis wisely

*Resolved*, that it is the *Opinion* of this *House*, that the *City* of *London* was burnt in the year 1666 by the *Papists*, designing thereby to introduce *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery* into this *Kingdom*. *Votes* 10. Jan. 1680.

For it was well known, the *Fanaticks* were shrewdly suspected of this horrid *Crime*, six of them having confess'd the *Design* at the

the place of Execution, and nam'd the time within a day, near upon five Months before it happen'd; as may be seen in the *Gazette* 26. of April 66. Nero's Policy therefore must be us'd, to turn it another way, and the Wicked suffer for the Sins of the Godly; tho' not out of any hatred either to the worst Principles or Practices, but ever the Papists were accus'd of, but merely to make them a *Striking Horse*, the better to come at their own Game. The Gentlemen certainly were true Friends indeed, who to hide the Knavery of their Party, generously ventur'd to expose their own Folly to the World. What rational connection, I pray, can we find between the burning of London and the introducing of Popery, or between that and Arbitrary Power? As if the Papists made Slavery a piece of their Religion, to whose Care and Prudence, as Freeborn Englishmen, we owe all our Fundamental Rights and Privileges, and even the most excellent Constitution of Parliaments. Yet suppose, the Papists were such Fools, (as certainly they must be the meekest Idiots upon Earth, or they are basely belied) as to prefer Slavery to Liberty, and think that horrid Conflagration serviceable to their purpose; how came they to miss of the End, at least not to push for't, since they sped so well, even beyond all Expectation, in the Means they propos'd? Where lay their Money in Bank, or their Men in readiness? Who oppos'd this formidable Army, or how came they to vanish without doing some Execution? But enough of this ridiculous, Nonsensical Stuff, contriv'd by Knaves, and believ'd by Fools, and most unluckily Canoniz'd at last in St. Stephens Chappel, to the everlasting Shame of the Authors.

As for their intended kindness to the D. of M. which really turn'd to his Disadvantage, to have such Mediators as wanted Mediators and Pardons for themselves, to get him restor'd to his former Places and Employments, it was ground'd upon the same Foundation with the former. They wheedled the Poor Man, to serve their own Ends, from his Duty and all worldly Happiness, with the Chimerical Hopes of a Crown, which he had neither Right to Enjoy, nor Brains to Support; and being in Law but *Filius Populi*, they made him *Don Populario* to his Ruine. For 'tis alwaies observ'd, that the Devil owes the Fool a spite, when he makes him a Politician.

Thus our Affiliators, like the Old Dragon in the Revelation,



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having great Wrath, because they knew they had but a short time, labour'd to make the best of it: they cou'd for their Purpose; and therefore ceas'd not to spit their Venom on all sides to oblige their Friends, and revenge themselves on their Enemies: For tho' they expected every moment the pale Messenger of Death; yet like true Cargilites they continued to the very last minute blaspheming against the Government. But the Fatal Hour is come at length, and the Hoggan Moggen, who acted as if they had the same Commission with the Prophet Jeremiah, whom God had set over Nations, and over Kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to spoil and to destroy, and to build, and to plant; nevertheless with the least Blast of their Princes breath, they presently gave up the Ghost, and moulder'd away into nothing.

But the King, whom no Irregularities in Parliament cou'd put out of Love with so good and wholesome a Constitution, and the necessities of the Kingdom then requiring it, to quiet, if possible, the Minds of the distracted People, upon the Dissolution of the former, issued out new Summons for calling another: Yet considering that for some years before, the Faction in the House of Commons, and their Agents in London, went hand in hand, supporting and encouraging each other, to the great prejudice of the Publick, he resolv'd for once to try their Humor at Oxford; where notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Fanaticks, while they rul'd the Roast in that Ancient and Famous Nursery of Learning, during the late Usurpation, to corrupt the young Collegians with the old Leaven, Religion and Loyalty were still triumphant.

The Faction quickly apprehending the Disadvantages they shou'd lie under, near so Learned, and so Loyal an University, where their Shams wou'd not take, nor their Practices bear Water; where they shou'd want their Cabals to prepare Schemes, and the unruly Rabble to make a Noise, immediately put their Heads together to divert this, as to them, most Fatal Resolution. And having drawn up an Unmannerly sort of a Petition, not so much Praying as Threatning the King with the ill Consequences of removing his Parliament from London; which they got sign'd by as many Lords as they cou'd get of their Gang, to the number of Sixteen, they pitch'd upon the unhappy Earl of Essex to present it to his Majesty; who chearfully undertook the Province, that



that he might seem the *Ringleader* of the *Party*, and  
 utter'd it in with a most *Impertinent Harangue* \*which  
 they had prepar'd for him upon that *Occasion*. But the *King*  
 was too *Wise* to be impos'd upon by such Men; whom he knew  
 so well, that their *Petition*, in stead of working any *Change*, con-  
 firm'd him in his former *Purpose*; and therefore the *Petitioners*  
 were dismiss'd without any further *Satisfaction*.

\*24. Jan. 168c.

This unexpected *Repulse* put the *Faction* to some *Stand*; yet  
 having no other *Remedy*, they got the *Speech* and *Petition* im-  
 mediately printed, by way of *Appeal*, as their *Custom* was, to the  
*Multitude*; but in few days after, the chief *Heads* of both were  
 briefly confuted by an honest *Gentleman*, whose *Answer*, you tell  
 me, never came to your hands; and therefore because *Loyal* and  
*Short*, and withal somewhat *Prophetical*, as to that unfortunate  
*Earl*, I will here insert for your *Perusal*.

My Lord.

"**T**HO' the great *Esteem* I have always had as well for your  
 " *Lordships* Parts and *Prudence*, as your *Fathers* *Loy-*  
 " *alty*, inclines me to make a favourable *Construction* of your  
 " *Words* and *Actions*; yet the late *Speech*, and *Petition* pub-  
 " lish'd under your *Name*, are of so strange a nature, and of so  
 " ill an aspect in our present *Circumstances*, that I cannot but ac-  
 " quaint you with my *Thoughts* upon that unseasonable *Subject*;  
 " wherein did I not see my *Sovereign* so nearly concern'd, that  
 " many do construe, this was not so much *Petitioning*, as *Threat-*  
 " *ning* his *Sacred Majesty*, I wou'd have silently pass'd it over, and  
 " buried my *Resentments* in *Oblivion*.

" I am sorry, my Lord, you begin with so weak an *Obser-*  
 " *vation* from *Histories* and *Records*, as that many *Parliaments*  
 " have been unfortunate when call'd at *Places* remote from the  
 " *Capital City*. Did you ever observe how unfortunate many have  
 " been, when call'd in this *Capital City*; or how many have been  
 " unfortunate, when elsewhere conven'd? Do not all *Writers* of  
 " the late *Rebellion* observe it a great *oversight* in our *Royal*  
 " *Martyr*, not to have call'd his long *Parliament* to *Tork*, or  
 " some other *Place*, remote from *London*; where so many *Facci-*  
 " *ous Cabals* were constantly held, and so many *Pernicious Con-*  
 " *trivances* daily hammer'd, besides the *Rabbles tumultuous* run-  
 " ning

“ning to *Westminster-Hall*, and the *Common Councils* petitioning,  
 “or rather advising his Majesty, (*Mechanicks* turning *Politicians*;  
 “and leaving their *Shops and Trade*, to sit at the *Helms* of Go-  
 “vernment) that all wise men conclude, thence came the *Plague*  
 “of War and Desolation, upon the whole *Kingdom*.”

“But your *Observation* is not so weak, as your *Presidents* are  
 “*Emphatical* and *Mysterious*. You instance three unhappy *Kings*,  
 “and without the least ground in *History*, you seem to suppose  
 “the Places of calling their *Parliaments*, the Cause of their *Mis-*  
 “carriages. I am sure, my Lord, you know the contrary is  
 “manifest by our most Authentick *Monuments* and *Records*. To  
 “*Popular Fears* and *Jealousies*, fomented by *Ambitious* and *Dis-*  
 “contented *Grandeers*, and pretended *Patriots*, these, as most *Prin-*  
 “ces in general, ow’d all their troubles and calamities; as now  
 “we do in a great *Proportion*.”

“To these *Henry II.* by you mention’d, ow’d the *unnatural*  
 “*Broils* and *Distractions* of his *Kingdom*, when they and *Lewis* the  
 “*VII.* *King* of *France*, to make the Case the more *Parallel*, in-  
 “cited the *Son*, to rebel against the *Father*; in which never-  
 “theless they were thus far more *excusable* than *others*, that  
 “the *Son* was no *Bastard*, but the undoubted *Heir* of the *Crown*,  
 “and a *titular King*.”

“These were in like manner the chief Cause of all the *Mis-*  
 “chiefs and *Miseries* of *Henry* the *Third’s* *Raign*, when under  
 “the Colour of redressing the *Peoples* *Grievances*, they brought  
 “upon the *Nation* the greatest *Grievance* of all, an *Intestine*  
 “*Civil War* for many years together: And tho’ they loud-  
 “ly pretended to fight for the *Liberty* of the *Subjects*, yet  
 “themselves were no better than so many *Tyrants*; as anti-  
 “ent and modern *Authors* have observ’d, *Baker* p. 86.”

“As for *Henry VI.* his *Fate* was the *Consequence* of his *Grand-*  
 “fathers *Usurpation*; for *De male quaesitis vix gaudet tertius Ha-*  
 “res. The People at last weary of their *Change*, began to open  
 “their *Eyes*, and think it better to submit to their *Lawful Prince*,  
 “than to a *violent Usurper*. Nevertheless this *Revolution* cou’d  
 “not have been effected but with a great deal of difficulty,  
 “had not a gap been open’d by the *Ambition* of wicked *States-*  
 “men, who to have the sole *Management* of *Affairs* to them-  
 “selves, contriv’d the death of the *Kings* *Uncle*, and only *Sap-*  
 “port,”

"part, the Good Duke of Gloucester; as now some conspire against His Royal Highness, the better to enable themselves to dispose of the King as they please.

"These are the chief Heads of your unreasonable Speech, but your Petition runs a little further. In the first place you aggravate the Dangers of Popery, of which all true Protestants are sufficiently Apprehensive; yet withal, my Lord, we are too sensible the Papists are not our only Enemies. We have whole Swarms of unmovable Seditaries, and Republicans in great numbers, that seem to hate the Name, but in themselves love the Practice of Arbitrary Power; that pretend to stand for the Church of England, but really advance Presbytery; In fine, that would fain persuade us they are great Lovers of the King, tho' by their Actions we may easily see, they care but little for his Government.

"You are troubl'd it seems, that the next Parliament is to meet at Oxford, where (you say) neither Lords nor Commons can be in safety, but will be daily expos'd to the Swords of the Papists, and their Adherents; of whom too many have crept in to his Majesties Guards. Do you know, my Lord, of any such Papists now in the Guards? If you do, 'tis your Duty to your King and Country to have them secur'd: If not, 'tis a groundless Surmise, and a very frivolous Pretence, unfit to be mention'd by Persons of Honour. Certain it is, we have more reason to believe such unreasonable Petitioners are addicted to Presbytery, than his Majesties Guards inclin'd to Popery. For the later do openly protest against the Papists; have often taken Test and Oaths against that Religion; but the former are zealous Solicitors for the Fanatics, and endeavour to unite them to the Church of England, not by their coming to us, but ours to them, we losing our own Ground, and they still keeping theirs. But to wave this, if his Majesty thinks himself safe at Oxford, and doubts not to commit his Sacred Person to his Guards, what Reason have you to apprehend any Danger? Sure, 'tis his Majesties dearth, not yours; the Papists have hitherto design'd. How then can you be so Apprehensive, while he is secure?

"As for the Kings Evidence, I doubt not but they will cheerfully endure a little Inconvenience, to make an end of this  
"Execrable

“*Execrable Plot.* ‘Tis an advantage most of them have, that  
“they have bin brought up and us’d to want and hardship; which  
“now, I am confident, they will not decline, to consummate  
“the great *Work* they have so well begun.  
“My Lord, I wish as heartily as any man in *England*, the fre-  
“quent Meetings of *Parliaments*, and the good Correspondence of  
“*Prince and People*. I am perhaps as much concern’d as ano-  
“ther, to have the *Liberty* of the *Subject* preserv’d inviolable.  
“Yet when I see those, that shou’d be the Preservers of this *Liberty*,  
“first invade it, and endeavour to *Monopolize Arbitrary Power*  
“to themselves; I think *self-preservation* allows me to oppose  
“them. ‘Tis a true saying, *Corruptio optimi pessima*, and experi-  
“ence tells us, that *Parliaments* may err as well as *Kings*.  
“I will Conclude with a short *Reflection* on some *Transactions*  
“preceding the long *Parliament* in the late *King’s* *Reign*: where ‘tis  
“observable, that his *Majesty* finding his *Parliaments* still *Retrograde*,  
“and bent rather to foment than compose the *Differences* of the  
“*Kingdom*, in *September* 40. He summon’d the *Great Council* of his  
“*Peers*, to consult about the weighty *Affairs* of the *Nation*: But this  
“*(saith a late Historian)* was not very well lik’d of by those who favour’d  
“the *Scots*, whose chief *Design* aim’d at the calling of a *Parliament*, which  
“they fear’d the meeting of the *Peers* might prevent. Wherefore the  
“*Earls* of *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Mouldgrave*, *Bul-*  
“*lingbrook* and *Bristol*, and the *Lords* *Say*, *Brook*, *Paget*, *Mande-*  
“*vile*, and the *Lord* *Edward Howard*, presented a *Petition* to the  
“*King*, representing many great *Distempers* and *Dangers*, threatening  
“the *Church* and *State*, and his *Royal Person*; as *Sundry Innovations*  
“in *Matters* of *Religion*; increase of *Popery*, by employing *Papists* in  
“places of *Trust*; the great *Mischief* that might ensue, if the *Forces*  
“rais’d in *Ireland* shou’d be brought into *England*, &c. For *Remedy*  
“whereof they pray, that a *Parliament* might be *Summoned*, to redress these  
“*Grievances*, and punish the *Authors*; and likewise to compose the *War*  
“with *Scotland* without *Blood*, and unite both *Kingdoms* against the  
“*Common Enemy* of the *Reformed Religion*. And this was seconded by  
“another *Petition* to the same *Effect*, from their *Common Hackney*,  
“the *Common Council* of *London*. See *Baker* p. 470.  
“These, my Lord, were as fair pretences, and as plausible *In-*  
“*ducements* to have a *Parliament* then call’d, as any you can offer  
“at present for the Meeting of the next in *London*; and yet the  
“*World*,



"World knows what pernicious Designs were then a hatching  
against the King and Government by those very Persons who  
promoted that Petition: and happy had his Majesty and the  
whole Nation bin, had he rejected their Importunity. To every  
thing there is a Season, saith the Wise Man; and without doubt  
there is a Season for Petitioning. 'Tis certainly our Duty, with  
all Humility to beg of our Sovereign what we think necessary  
for the Publick; but to press him to it, when he declares against  
it, for good Reasons as we ought in good manners to suppose, is a  
very great Presumption, not to be endur'd in a Subject. If the Laws  
have settled in the King the absolute Power of Calling, Adjourning,  
Proroguing and Dissolving his Parliaments, when and where he  
pleases, shall we be Wiser than the \* Laws, \* Neminem oppo-  
and Limit our Princes Will, or question his Prerogative? *tes Sapienter emes-  
se Legibus. Cook.*

"In Fine, when Discontented Statesmen are found the Promo-  
ters of such Petitions; 'tis Natural to suspect they do it for some  
Sinister Design; Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes. If the great Poli-  
tician Achitophel hang'd himself through discontent, because his  
Counsel was not follow'd, we cannot in Prudence but think others  
will leave no Stone unturnd to gratify their Passion. There are  
some Weathercocks in the World, who had a hand in all the Revo-  
lutions of their time, modo harum, modo illarum partium, but  
never Faithful to any; if Your Lordship be so far overseen, as  
to joyn with Those, they will certainly leave you in the Lurch,  
when 'tis too Late to Repent. Therefore in time consider the  
Wise Man's Advice: My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King,  
and Meddle not with them that are given to Change; for their Ca-  
lamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both.

Prov. 24. 21.

I am Tours &c.

Now if we compare the last Paragraph of this Letter with the  
Fatal End of that unhappy Earl, we shall find the Prediction veri-  
fied to a Hair, and the Gentleman's Conjectures turn'd in a manner  
into a Prophecy. The Poor Man found at last to his Sorrow, he was  
left in the Lurch by Crooked Achitophel, when it was indeed too  
late to Repent; and therefore out of Remorse of Conscience, and deep  
Despair, for the baseness of his Crimes against his Sovereign, rendred

yet



yet more odious with the *Black and Iniquitous*, in compassing the Death of his Prince that heaped so many Labours upon him, and in a great measure rais'd him from Nothing; notwithstanding all his *Protested Zeal* for Religion, Liberty, and the *Irreclaimable*, as to lay *bloody hands* upon himself, which *deserv'd* a *severe* guide.

But enough of this ingrateful Subject; and now let us observe a little the *Manner* of that *Abominable* Parliament at Oxford; whether the *Leading Members* are conducted, as it were in *Triumph*, by *Formidable Bodies* of the *Faction*, to strike Terror into all their *Opposers*. The many *Boils* and *disappointments* they receiv'd in the *Preceding Parliaments*, were so far from bringing them to any *Calmness* or *Moderation*, that now they are resolv'd with greater *Heat* and *Violence* than ever, to pursue their former *Designs*. In the *Westminster Parliament*, tho' they made bold to insert in one of their *Bills* a *Clause* for repealing the *Statutes* \* *de Scandalis*

\* *Voices* 16 Dec. 1680. *Magnatum*, thereby to bring the *Lords* upon an *even Level* with themselves; and to *Vote* several *Peers*, without any *Trial* or *Conviction*, \* *Buchies*

\* 7 Jan. 1680. *to the King and Kingdom*, for advising his Majesty against the *Bill of Exclusion*. Yet they were so *madest*, as not to declare against the whole *House*, notwithstanding that his Majesty had told them in his *Message* some daies before,

\* 4 Jan. 1680. \* *He was confirm'd in his Opinion* against the *Bill of Exclusion* by the *Judgment* of the *House of Lords*, who *rejected* it. But here we find them of a *Braver Spirit*, fit to *bind Kings in Chains*, and *Nobles in Fetters of Iron*. And therefore when the *Lords*, according to the known *Laws* of the *Land*, *rejected* their contrivance of *impeaching* *Fitzharris*, and refer'd him to be *Tried* at *Common Law*, they like *bold Brittons*, charg'd the whole *House* of *Peers* with the highest *Violation* of *Justice* imaginable: And

1801 May 8s  
Resolved, That it is the undoubted Right of the Commons in Parliament assembled, to impeach before the Lords any Peer or Commoner for Treason, or any other Crime or Misdemeanour. And that the refusal of the Lords to proceed in Parliament upon such Impeachment, is a denial of Justice, and a violation of the Constitution of Parliaments. *Voices* 26 March 1681.

But I with the *Gentlemen* had bin so just to themselves, as to have

how this may be proved, they proceeded upon in this particular; the Oath they had sworn, besides their *unaccountable* *Negative* *Conscience*. How then, if we understand the great Charter of our Liberties, and the Fundamental Birthright of every Commoner, to be Tried by Juries in all Capital Crimes, where the Criminal is allow'd to make divers *Paraphrases* Challenges, and as many more as he can show Cause, 'tis most undoubted, nothing could have been more *illegitimate* than the Impeachment of Fitzbarris, nothing more *unparliamentary* than this very Resolve. Besides 'tis well known, that in the 4th Year of Ed. 3. after the Lords had been prevail'd upon to give Judgment on Sir Simon de Bereford and several other Commoners, for the Murder of Ed. 2. and his Brother the Earl of Kent, there is an expresse Proviso still extant upon Record, that the Lords shou'd not for the future be oblig'd to judge any but their Peers.

And it is assented and accorded by our Lord the King, and all the Grandees in full Parliament; that albeit the Peers, as Judges of the Parliament, have taken upon them, and rendred Judgment, &c. That yet the said Peers, who now are, or shall be in time to come, be not bound or charged to render Judgments upon others than their Peers. Nor that the Peers of the Land have P O W E R to do this, but thereof ever to be discharged and acquitted: And that the aforesaid Judgment rendred be not drawn to Example or Consequence in time to come, whereby the said Peers shall do contrary to the Laws of the Land, if the like case happen, which God forbid. 4 Ed. 3. N. 6. And pursuant to this Proviso, when Sir William Cogan was accus'd in Parliament by Sir Richard Glededon, 5 R. 2. N. 43 and 44. the Lords having heard the Cause, remitted both Parties to the Common-Law.

Where then is the undoubted Right of the Commons to impeach, or what Law or Statute can warrant their imposing upon the Lords to judge whom they please, contrary to such expresse Acts of Parliament. Or what could be their Reason to be so much concern'd for Fitzbarris, a profess'd Papist, but to delay his Trial, when after Impeachment he could not be brought to Justice but at their Suit, that by assuring him his Life, they might force him to pretend some new Discoveries, to breed more Confusion. They knew very well the Man had nothing to dis-

(187)  
cover but his own *Villanous Intentions*, which he purposely contriv'd to save his Neck from the Gallows, charging himself with new Crimes, to avoid the punishment of the old. And Sir R. C. one of his Godfathers - in Newgate made it plain enough, when he told the House at Oxford, Fitzharris ask'd *Debate, p. 6.* him, whether he had not said enough to save his Life? But still it was the same thing to them, *Plots true or false* would equally serve their turn; or rather false ones would be more *Useful*, because they cou'd turn them which way they pleas'd; And therefore to the very last they us'd all their *Arts and Endeavours* to bring him off, *Right or Wrong*, and to frighten the Judges from their Duty, they pass'd the following Vote;

*Resolved, that for any Inferiour Court to proceed against Edward Fitzharris, or any other Person lying under an Impeachment in Parliament, for the same crimes for which he or they stand Impeach'd, is an high breach of the priviledge of Parliament. Votes 26. March 8.1.*

Sure these Gentlemen dreamt they were gone back to 41. and made perpetual Dictators, that they offer'd at this Rate to impose their wild Ordinances upon the Nation, in opposition to the fundamental Laws of the Land. 'Tis pity his Majesty did not suffer them to sit a little longer, that we might have more of such edifying Resolutions. And I wonder how cou'd Prince or People be weary of so obliging a House of Commons, who labour'd with a great deal of Pains and Industry, to imitate Christ's saying in the Revelation, Behold I make all things new, Rev. 21. 5. New Laws, new Religions, and many new frames of Government, might we be assur'd of by this time, had not the Almighty seen their Predecessors, the *Rebellious Long-Parliament*, had given us too much of those Blessings. If Caligula suck'd blood when a Child, what cou'd People hope from him when a Man? And if the Faction at Oxford arriv'd in six days time to that height of Insolence, as the Commons in 41. did not come near in six months, what a happy Reformation might we expect, had they also been made perpetual. But they liv'd too fast to live long, and notwithstanding this extravagant Vote, with the terrible Bugbear in the Belly on't, the priviledge of Parliament, which had formerly

ly

by *both Law and Gospel*, *Fitzharris* was brought to *Justice*, and discover'd at the place of *Execution* both his *Own* and his *Patrons* villany.

'Tis observable that in *K. James 1.* his time the *bloody Traytors* concern'd in the *Gun-powder Treason*, were all tryed and convicted by the course of the *Common Law*; and tho' the *Parliament* was then sitting, and the *Design* level'd as much against them, as against the *King and Royal Family*, yet not one of them did the *Commons* offer to impeach; neither is it to be imagin'd, that so wise a *Prince*, and so great a *Master of Kings-craft*, wou'd have suffer'd them to meddle with any of his *Prisoners*, since he did not allow them to take the least cognizance of the whole matter, where the *Inferiour Courts* had power to proceed. No *voting of Plots* was then in fashion, no *examining of Witnesses* by *Secret Committees* of the *House of Commons*, no *suing of Pardons*, or *Rewards* for mercenary needy *Informers*, as we have had of late days, to carry on the most uncouth ill-shap'd *Monster*, that ever appear'd in *Nature*. All was calmly examin'd, and judicially determin'd in the ordinary *Courts of Justice* without any further *Appeal*.

And many are of *Opinion*, it wou'd have been very much for the *Honour and Wellfare* of the *Nation*, had the late *King* taken the like method in the prosecution of *Oates* his *Popish Plot*, which wou'd have prevented the *distractiōns* of his *People*, and wholly defeated the *designs* of his *Enemies*; who no sooner got the *management* of that *ridiculous Stuff* into their hands, but they improv'd it every day more and more to his *Majesties* disadvantage, still grafting *new Plots* on the old *Stock*, to keep the *People* in a continual ferment, till the grand *Plot* appear'd at last, which had not *Providence* miraculously prevented, wou'd have certainly prov'd the *Ruine* both of *King and Kingdom*. And who, I pray, were the *Ring-leaders* of this horrid *Conspiracy*, but the great *Dictators* of the *Faction*, and the noisy *Assertors* of our *Religion and Liberty* in those two *Parliaments*; where, as we are since convinc'd, our true *Protestant Patriots* made all this bustle about the *Popish Plot* for no other end, but that they might under the *Umbrage* of that, carry on their own undiscover'd. Well might they cry his *Majesties* Life was still in *Danger*, who best knew what *subtle* *Machinations* they had on foot against his



*Spiced Person*, which you they labour'd with a great deal of  
Art and Cunning to throw upon the Papists, on  
whom they had already voted. In all case the King  
should come by any violent Death, they would revenge  
it no less than by the most likely to do it than some of  
themselves, as soon afterwards appeared. For, when they per-  
ceived that neither their *Allegat Fides*, nor insolent Addresses,  
nor all their other Arts and Contrivances could prevail with  
the King to lay his Crown at their feet, and found moreover,  
that the main body of the Nation, their Friends in London,  
whose Passes and Conscience they always had at their Dispo-  
sition, were upon declining, and like to lose the Charter they  
had so vigorously made use of against the Giver: then they  
thought it high time to bestir themselves, and try since no-  
thing else was like to succeed, what could Sword and Blun-  
derbuss do.

This was the Plot indeed, and the well-contriv'd Design, where  
no Art was wanting to secure the success, nor Power but Bro-  
udence able to defeat it. The Common People were already  
mannag'd to some purpose, the Knaves prepar'd for executing  
any Villany, and the well-meanting Fools kept still gaping af-  
ter the ridiculous Contrivances of the Papists, which if compar'd  
to this, will seem but a nice Phantom or Shadow. For their  
forty Thousand Black Bills, their Screw'd Guns and Silver Bul-  
lets, their Spanish Pilgrims and Irish Auxiliaries, their White-  
Horse Conscience and D'Olive's Commissions, and in short, the whole  
Frame of that Bear's Cub, is no more than a Childish piece of  
Pageantry, in comparison of the late Conspirators methodical  
Attuquies upon the Government; as their seditious Petitions and  
seditious Addresses, their various Elections and perjur'd Regraments,  
their Anti-Monarchical Bill of Exclusion and unreasonable Project  
of Affirmation, and to crown the Work, their Council of Six  
and Rye-house undertaking.

The Train is so Obsolete and Vapour in the Laid, and the  
Chain so casie to be trodd link by link, while there is but  
little or no Coherence in the Formen, that the most any man  
in his right Wits can do, is to believe any part of the one,  
or disbelieve the least fibre of the other.

But why should I seek more in Subtleties, or dwell any long-



er, or a thing, is plain the whole *Mystery of Iniquity* is sufficiently reveal'd; and not only sworn to by many of the *living*, but own'd and confes'd by the *dying Conspirators*; Whereas we have little or nothing to support the Credit of the other, but the bare *dash* of a *pack of Jack-birds* and the most notorious of *Villains*, who for their *Bread and Liberty* were ready to swear any thing, while they had a head-strong *Faction* to back them, and pawn upon the *People* their *Romantick Dreams* for *new Revolutions*.

Now, if at last we sum up our *Accounts*, and compute our *Loss and Gain* upon the whole matter, as every prudent Man will do even in his private *Concerns*, what is the *Nation* the better for this way of proceeding? The *Monarchy* was thereby not only brought low, but upon the very brink of *Destitution*; the *establish'd Religion* defam'd, and the *Orthodox Clergy* made a *Grievance*; divers of his *Majesties* good *Subjects* daily harass'd, and robb'd from *Post to Pillar*; our *Credit and Reputation* lost abroad; and our *Trade and Commerce* in a manner ruin'd: And all this while not one to be nam'd, that was a *Gainer* by the matter, but scandalous *Libellers*, factious *News-mongers*, and perjur'd *Informers*.

This is not all our *Parliaments*, which in former Ages were deservedly look'd upon as the great *Physicians* of the *Body Politick*, (because of late years the *Leading Members* in the *House of Commons* prov'd such *Quacks and Mountebanks*, as seem'd to have only the *Art of Killing*, but not of *Curing* any) suffer'd so much in their *Credit*, especially with such as are apt to throw the *Faults* of the *Professors* upon the *Profession*, and the *Miscarriages* of some *Members* upon the whole *Constitution*, that many are of *Opinion*, it will be no small *difficulty* for the next to *Retrieve* their *Reputation*. It grieves me to find what some *Ingenious Gentlemen* have observ'd, that of the eight, which have been summon'd these 60 years past, we have had but One that we cou'd truly call a *Loyal or good Parliament*. The rest, through the unhappy *Choice* of ill *Members*, who aim'd more at their own *Ends and Designs* than the *Publick good*, some endeavouring by *Caballing and Bawling* against the *Government*, to get themselves bought off with *Honours and Employments*, others labouring to promote *Fanaticism* and turn the *Monarchy* into a *Common-Wealth*, have occasion'd such distractions,

such

such wild *Nations* and *Chimeras* among the *People*, that many an honest man thinks he has *Reason* to wish, as the least of the two *Evils*, rather to have no *Parliaments*, than to be plagued with the like for the future.

But the *Distemper*, I hope, is now pretty well over, and the *Nation* having had sufficient *Experience* of the *Fatal* consequences of *Faction* and *Sedition*, will (I doubt not) take such *Measures* at this time, as will make the next a *healing, restoring Parliament*; such as will not increase, but rather redress our *Grievances*, bring all the *Enemies* of the *Government* to *Condign Punishment*, procure and fix a good understanding between *Prince* and *People*, and thereby (the only *Means* to do it) *Retrieve* the *Reputation* their *Predecessors* have so unluckily lost, to the great *Prejudice* of the *Publick*.

This is the *sure and short way* to our *present Settlement* and future *Happiness*, so earnestly wish'd for by all *Loyal Subjects*, and no less dreaded by the *Disturbers* of our *Israels Peace*; who have therefore now all their *Engines* at work, to render this as fruitless as they have former *Parliaments*. The *Fanaticks* and the *Republicans*, of late turn'd *Trimmers*, as the more *Mischievous* sort of *Animals*, and such as fancy themselves *disoblig'd*, or whose *Crimes* have render'd them *obnoxious* to the *Government*, who think they can have no *Safety*, at least no *possibility* of compassing their *Ends*, but by our *disorder* and *Confusion*, now keep constant *Clubs* and *Cabals*, in all the *Corners* of the *Town*, to contrive such *Schemes* and *Measures*, as they think most proper to frustrate all honest *Mens Expectations*, by rendering the next *Sessions* ineffectual.

It has been always their *Policy* to begin with *Religion*, as the most *popular Topick* they can make use of, to engage the *unthinking Multitude* in the Cause, according to *Machiavel's Rule*, *Quoties vis fallerè plebem, singe Deum*: Tho'tis well known, the old *Heathen Philosophers* were far better *Christians* than such noisy *Reformers* as we have had of late days, who were every *Moon* for *chopping* and *changing*, *paring* and *clipping Religion*, till they wou'd have left us none at all. It was *Erasmus* his *Drollery*, *Quid rerum nunc geritur in Anglia? Consulitur de Religione*. And it has been our *Misfortune* ever since to have been perplex'd with the same *Endless Consultations*; till at length *Christianity* it self was *Spirited* away from among us by an *Ignis Fatuus* of an *Imaginary Religion*, and nothing

in a manner left to the *Establish'd Church*, that we cou'd call *Primitive*, but *Poverty* and *Persecution*. And all this while, which was our fatal Error, we never consider'd before-hand the *Lives* and *moral Actions* of those *Refiners* of the *Reformation*, that we might thereby know what spirit they were of: But, as if God wanted the *Devils* assistance to defend his *Church*, the loosest *Débauchees*, and the greatest *Hypocrites*, no sooner pretended to stand up for *Religion* and *Liberty*, but they were immediately Canoniz'd by the gaping Crowd into tutelar *Saints* and true *Protestant Patriots*. Thus poor *Perkin Warbeck*, and his good natur'd *Cornudo*, to omit many hundreds more of the same *Stamp*, were cryed up for the main *Pillars* of the *Protestant Religion*, that stood in the Gap against the *Inundations* of *Popery*; tho' at the same time little better than *Atheists*, and when their *Vizards* were pull'd off, and they cou'd stay no longer here, then each of them thought fit, for their *Spiritual Recreation*, to lead about a *Holy Sister* in their *Travels*, to propagate their *Gospel* in *Foreign Countries*.

But *Expedients*, say they, we must needs have to secure the *Protestant Religion*, otherwise the *Nation* will be at length prevail'd upon to return from whence they came, and once more to observe the *Souldiers* posture, *As you were*. I wish in the mean time we had an effectual *Expedient* to Cure some *Peoples* brains of *Maggots* and *Chimera's*, who seem to tremble with fear, where there is no possibility of *Danger*. Our *Religion*, I am sure, is already as well secur'd, and as firmly establish'd by the *Care* and *Vigilance* of our *Ancestors*, as the *Law* is able to make it, or human wit can devise; there being so many severe *Statutes* in force against all its *Opposers*, even to the making it \* *Treason* to pervert or be perverted, that no *Power* on Earth, but our own folly, can alter or destroy it. Besides, to remove all *Objections*, and satisfy, if possible, the most scrupulous amongst us, His Majesty that now is, whose *Word* has ever been as *Sacred*, and as punctually observ'd, as the most *Solemn Laws* by any of his *Ancestors*, was graciously pleas'd, upon the late *Kings* Decease, to declare himself in *Council*, and give us this further assurance: *I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this Government both in Church and State, as it is now by Law established. I know the Principles of the Church of England are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have shew'd them-*

\* 23 El. 1.  
Sect. 2. & 3.  
Jac. 4. Sect.  
22, 23.

*Selves*

*selves Good and Loyal Subjects, therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it.*

Now if all these be thought *insufficient*, what new *Expedient* can be found *able* to secure us? If People be so base as to imagine, His Majesty will regard neither the *Establish'd Laws*, nor His Royal Word, nor yet His *undoubted Interest*, to what purpose shou'd People dream any more of *Expedients*, since the *Laws* formerly made are as full and as binding, as any can be fram'd a new. Unless they will offer (and that to be sure is their aim) to clip the *Prerogative*, which is already par'd so very near the quick, that nothing more can be parted with, without *apparent danger* to the *Monarchy*. And therefore no *honest man*, or which is the same, no true *lover* of the *Government*, will approve of, much less *promote* any thing, that may tend to a further *diminution* of it; none but such as wou'd fain dash both *Church* and *State*, one against the other, will offer to *weaken* the *Crown*, on pretence to support the *Miter*; whereas indeed nothing can secure the one, but the *strength* and *power* of the other, which have been always observ'd, like *Hyppocrates his Twins*, to *Laugh* and *Weep*, *Live* and *Dye* together.

But 'tis plain, *Religion* is not the Matter in *Question*, nor *Conscience* the *Motive* of all these *Frights* and *Apprehensions*. *Worldly Interest* is the *Spring* that moves all the *Wheels*, and provided these Men of *Zeal* and *Devotion*, cou'd but secure in their own *Hands* all the *Offices* and *Employments* in the *Kingdom*, I am morally certain, they wou'd not much care what *Mode* of *Religion* shou'd be in *Fashion*. For my part, tho' I have as much *reason* perhaps as another to wish, that none shou'd be employ'd in any considerable *Station* amongst us, but the *obedient Sons* of the *Church* of *England*, and that I see no manner of *grounds* to fear, while the *Laws* which the *King* has been graciously pleas'd to promise, shou'd be the *Rule* of his *Government*, are so strict and severe against all *Dissenters*, there shall be any other advanc'd in this *Kingdom*; whatsoever His Majesty may think fit to do, which is no business of ours, in His other *Dominions*, especially in *Ireland*, where it is not only *lawfull*, but perhaps very necessary to employ some *Persons* of known *Integrity*, to ballance the *Cromwellians*, and the *ungovernable Fanaticks* there, who (I am told) have rais'd themselves from nothing to very considerable *Estates* by *Fighting* for *Oliver*, and therefore



cannot easily forget the *Principles* nor the *Practice*, which of *Weavers*, *Cobblers*, and other pitiful *Mechanicks*, made them *Esquires*, *Knights*, and *Peers* of that *Realm*. Tho' I say, there is no *Moral Possibility* of any others being prefer'd here, but such as will, at least *seemingly* conform according to *Law*; yet to give you my own thoughts upon that Point, I must tell you, that as I have been always of *Opinion*, that *Honesty* is not only the best *Policy*, but the best *Religion*, it being confess'd by all, that the *Honest Man* only goes to *Heaven*; and as it cannot enter into my Head, how it is possible for any to be really *solicitous* about *Religion*, that practises nothing of it in his *Life* or *Conversation*: So I cou'd never yet be induc'd to *believe*, it was the *Interest* either of *Church* or *State* to make an *outward Profession* of the *establish'd Religion* a *necessary step* to *Preferment*. That indeed with the *Practice* and other *Endowments* must be always exacted in *Spiritual Promotions*; but *Merit* only and good *Services* to the *Crown* shou'd, in my *Opinion*, be thought enough to recommend *Candidates* to *Civil* or *Military Employments*. And as it is *Demonstrable*, the *Monarchy* has been very much weakn'd, by making that the *Standard* of the *Princes* favour, which neither *King* nor *Kingdom* were a *Straw* the better for; so 'tis plain the *Church* suffer'd extremely by the accession of *thousands* of *Atheists* and *profane Libertines*, who pretended to be of her *Communion* for no other *Reason*, but to qualify themselves for *Offices* and *Preferments*; by which means, besides the *Opportunity* given to such *ill men* to execute any *Villany* upon an occasion, to the great *hazard* of the *State*, many a *well-meaning Christian* was very much *scandaliz'd*, and a *Gap* open'd to her *Enemies* to throw all the dirt they cou'd upon the *most primitive Reform'd Church* in the *World*. 'Tis certainly an odd sort of *Policy*, to exclude one that signaliz'd his *Ability* and his *Loyalty* to the *Crown*, for some *differences* in *Religious Opinions*, own'd even by ourselves *unnecessary to Salvation*; and prefer another that never gave any one *Instance* of either, because he makes no *Conscience* of taking, nor will perhaps of *breaking*, any *Test* or *Oath* that is tender'd him.

We see the *Politick French Monarch*, tho' *Himself* and the *Generality* of his *People* are *zealous Papists*, do nevertheless prefer

such of his *Protestant Subjects* as he finds deserving, to places of *Trust* and *Profit*, sends them *Envoys* and *Ambassadors* to his *neighbouring Princes*, makes them *Captains* and *Colonels* in his *Army*, and raises them by degrees according to their *Honesty* and *Capacity*, as appears by *Monsieur Schomberg*, whom tho' a zealous *Protestant*, he made *Mareschal of France*, and consequently *General* in his turn, one of the *highest Stations* and of the *greatest Trust* in his whole *Kingdom*. Neither can the *French Papists* be offended at the *Advancement* of any such, when they consider 'tis but *Equity* and the *undoubted Right* of the *Subject*; because that part of *political Justice*, which is call'd *Distributive*, always makes it a *due Debt* upon the *Prince* to reward his *Subjects* according to their *Deserts*, as the *Vindicative* part does oblige him on the other side to punish *Offenders* according to their *Demerits*; with this only *Difference*, that he can with much better *Conscience* forgive the one, than forget the other.

Besides, when a *Prince* has several *Factions*, whether *Religious* or *Civil* in his *Dominions*, as *Protestant* and *Papist*, *Guelph* and *Gibelline*, which he cannot easily reconcile, 'tis his *Interest*, by employing them indifferently according to their *Parts* and *Loyalty*, to keep the *Ballance* in an equal *Libration*; that while they are at enmity amongst themselves, they shall have no *Aversion* to him, who impartially rewards them in proportion to their *Deserts*: which must needs create such an *Emulation* betwixt his *Subjects*, that they will strive to outdo each other to serve their *Prince*, to the great *Advantage* of the *Publick*; and every one, instead of depending on the *idle Interest* of his *Party*, will endeavour to lay a better and a more useful *Foundation*, that of his own *Merit*, to raise him to *Preferment*. Whereas the contrary *Practice* will slacken the *Hearts* and *Hands* of many an *able Subject*, who thinking themselves oblig'd in *Honour* not to quit their *Party*, and perhaps in *Conscience* also not to change their *Perswasion* for *Worldly Interest*; if they find they are upon that account incapable of a *due Encouragement*, they will be remiss in promoting their *Princes service*: For it is always observ'd, that *Honour* and *Reward* are the great *Motives* to *Zeal* and *Diligence* for the *Publick*; few being now-a-days of the old *Philosophers* temper, to love

love *Virtue* for it self; and therefore the *Poet* was very much in the Right, when he said, *Quis enim Virtutem amplectitur ipsam, Præmia si tollas?*

Ay, sayes one, but if that were once allow'd, the Protestant Religion wou'd soon decay, and People turn Papists, in great Numbers. A good riddance of them, say I; for 'tis plain nothing cou'd be more the *Interest* of the *Establiſh'd Church*, than to be quit of all her *Counterfeit Members*, who follow *Christ* for the *Loaves*; because of all *Enemies* the pretended *Friend* is the most dangerous. Since therefore \* no *True* or *Real* Protestant, none but *Libertines* and *dissembling Conformists* wou'd desert the *Churches Communion* in the Case suppos'd; where is the *Harm*, if that *Temptation* were remov'd, and the wither'd unprofitable *Branches* left to fall off by Degrees? Such as insist upon this *Objection*, I am sure, are either silly *Fools* that understand not what they say, or they have the *Jesuits* and the *Dissenters* fence of the *Establiſh'd Religion*, that it must have *Baits* and *Allurements* to gain *Profelytes*; which is certainly the greatest *Scandal* imaginable upon any *Church* or *Perswasion* whatsoever. For Truth will ever prevail, *Magna est veritas & prævalebit*; and tho' it may be *Clouded* for some time, yet it can never be overcome, because it alwaies stands firm upon *Feet of Iron*, without any mixture of *Clay*. Are not we then extreamly oblig'd to such rare *Advocates*, who seem to plead for the *Establiſh'd Church*, and with the same *Breath* endeavour to make her *Ridiculous* to her *Enemies*? As if she were not able to stand her *Ground* in *Spirituals*, without a *Monopoly* of all the *temporal Advantages* of the *Kingdom*; which (as *St. Jerome* \* has long since well observ'd) does very often rather hinder, than advance the *Purity* of the *Gospel*. Yet this I perceive, is the ordinary *Method* of the *Faction*, to make loud pretences of *Zeal* for the *Church*, and of *Loyalty* to the *King*, and at the same time take such *Measures* under this *Mask*, as will effectually *Weaken*, if not *Destroy* both in the *Conclusion*.

But the *Main Point* is yet behind, which if they can but compass by *Hook* or by *Crook*, they are cock-sure of the *Victory*;

\* Nemo aestinet bonos posse de Ecclesia dicere: Triticum non rapit ventus, nec arborem solida radice fundatam procelli subvertit: Inanes palles tempestate jactantur. S. Cyprian.

\* Postquam Ecclesia cepit Christianos habere Magistratus, facta est quidem opibus maior, sed virtutibus minor. S. Hierom.

But if they shou'd fail, as undoubtedly they will, all their other *Arts and Contrivances* will prove insignificant. The *Revenue* settled on the late *King*, tho very inconsiderable to support the *Grandeur* and the ordinary *Charge* of the *Government*, has been a great *Grievance* to the *Godly Party*, and no small *Block* in their way to a *thorough Reformation*, that is in plain *English*, the *Subversion of Church and State*. And therefore they have now all their *Engines* at work to hinder the settling on his present *Majesty* such *Branches* of it, as are not already made *perpetual*, that He may not be able either to defend His *People*, or to offend His *Enemies*. But as the *Devil*, when he intends most *Mischief*, transforms himself into an *Angel of Light*, so do our giddy *Gospellers*, to hide their *Cloven Foot* of *Separation*, pretend to be zealous *Advocates* for the *Church of England*, when really they design Her *Ruine*, which they know has no *Security* under *God*, but in the *Strength and Power* of the *Monarchy*. They boast, that besides some *Lords* and several *Commoners* of the *Establish'd Religion*, they have got a *Prelate* or two (and you may remember they allow'd us lately but two *Protestant Bishops*) to joyn with them in their Insolent *Proposal* for *Clipping* the *Prerogative*; which if refus'd, as they expect it will, because *unreasonable* and of very ill *Consequence*, they hope it may then beget such *Misunderstandings* between *King* and *Parliament*, as will make them part without providing for the *Security* of the *Publick*. Yet because they find the *Nation* is now grown weary of *Confusion*, and the *Major Part*, out of a sense of *Duty* and *common safety*, inclin'd to comply with their *Sovereign* for the support of the *Government*, they have another *Project*, which they think will better take, and in *Process of Time* will do their *Work* as well, viz. that the *Revenue* be not settled but from *Tear to Tear*, at most not above *three Tears* together, that they may, like *Dutiful Subjects*, keep their *Sovereign* on his good *Behaviour*; by which *Means* they are sure of frequent *opportunities* to shuffle the *Cards* again, and venture in spite of *Fate* another *Game* for the *Good Old Cause*.

These, Sir, are the wild *Imaginations* of a restless sort of *People* amongst us, whose *Religion*, like the *Story* of the *Salamander* in the *Fire*, never thrives but in *Confusion*. And therefore I shou'd be sorry, that any *Member* of the *Church of England*, whose *Doctrine* I am sure is quite opposite, shou'd be so far misled, as to joyn with them in such *Disloyal Contrivances*. We may easily observe



serve from late and former Experience, that the *Welfare* of all *Nations*, but more particularly of this, wholly consists in a good *Understanding*, and *mutual Confidence* between *Prince* and *People*; and that if the one be *jealous* of the other, neither our *Peace* at home, nor *Trade* abroad can be *Durable*; for both *Domestick* and *Foreign Enemies* will daily gain ground upon us, and make us at length a *Prey* to their *Malice* or *Ambition*.

Besides, if we consider the *Grievous Complaints* of former ages against *Monopolies*, and the frequent *Disputes* about the *Kings Prerogative*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, with the many *Evils* that follow'd to the great *Hazard* of the *Publick*, which were all founded on the want of *Money*, we shall quickly conclude with the *Emperour Theodosius*, *Periculosissimum Animal Pauper Rex*: And that it is neither *Dutiful* nor *Prudent* in *Subjects* to tempt their *Prince* to go out of the beaten *Road*, and strain his *Prerogative*, or hearken to the *Devices* of *Projectors*, for the support of his *Government*. His Majesty in his most *Gracious Declaration* was pleas'd to take particular notice of the *Loyalty* both of the *Members* and of the *Principles* of the *Church of England*, and promis'd upon that Account to defend and support it. But, if in stead of continuing *Loyal* and *Faithful*, according to our *Duty* and to our *Conscience*, we shou'd endeavour by raising a *Faction* in the *State*, to make the *Crown* uneasy, we cancel the *Obligation* of this *Gracious Promise*, and give his Majesty occasion to make us as uneasy as he pleases. For 'tis manifest, as his Majesty well observ'd, the *Laws of England* are sufficient to make the *King* as great a *Monarch* as he can wish: And if he were forc'd by the *Baseness* of some *People* to take such *Measures* in his own *Defence*, which I am certain, nothing but their *Perverseness* cou'd induce him to do, 'tis *Demonstrable*, he cou'd raise more *Money* that way in one year, than he can expect from his *Parliament* in three.

This cou'd be made out by several *Instances*, yet because I have always been a great *Enemy* to *Projects*, and very averse from cutting out new ways for raising the *King Money*, when a *Parliament*, if mindful of their *Duty* and of the *Publick Good*, is undoubtedly the *Best* and the most *Natural Method*, I will instance only two *Branches*, and make no *extravagant Calculation*,  
to

2 & 3 E. 6.  
C. 19.

to prove my *Affertion*. The first is, that if the  
 \* *Laws* made by K. *Edward* 6. and confirm'd by  
 Q. *Elizabeth* and K. *James*, against *eating* of *Flesh*  
 in *Lent* and other *Fasting-days*, were put in *execution*, where  
 the least *Penalty* is ten shillings and ten days *Im-*  
 \* 5 Eli 5.  
 Sect. 15. &  
 35 Eli 7. 7. 22.  
 & 17 Car. 1.  
 C. 4.  
 prisonment for the first, and double for the second  
*Offence* (not to mention higher \* *Forfeitures* since  
 impos'd) most *People* rather than be obnoxious to  
 such *Penalties*, or oblig'd to abstain from *Flesh* near  
 150 days in the Year, two Fifts of the whole, wou'd give  
 a yearly Sum, at least 20 shillings one with another, and save  
 treble by it in the price of *Fish*, for *Licences* from the *King*,  
 according to a *Proviso* made in one of the said Statutes: *Pro-*  
*vided* always, and be it ordained and enacted by the *Authority*  
*aforsaid*, That this *Act* or any thing therein contained, shall  
 not in any wise extend to any *Person* or *Persons*, that hereto-  
 fore hath, or hereafter shall have obtained any *Licence* of our  
*Sovereign Lord the King*, his *Heirs* or *Successors*. 2 & 3 Ed.  
 6. C. 19. Sect. 5. Now all knowing *Men* do generally agree there  
 are in *England* at least six *Millions* of *Persons*, and we may  
 reasonably suppose above two Fifts liable to this *Statute*, who  
 consequently wou'd yield to the *Crown* two *Millions* and a half  
 of *Pounds Sterling per An.* near double the *Produce* of the  
 three great *Branches* of the *Revenue*, the *Customs*, *Excise*, and  
*Hearth Money*. Secondly, If his *Majesty*, which *God* forbid,  
 should find the *Members* of the *Church* of *England* refractory,  
 and thereupon think fit to countenance the *Dissenters*, and sus-  
 pend the *Penal Laws* against them, pursuant to the *Bill* pass'd  
 both *Houses* in the last *Parliament* at *Westminster*, he might  
 have their *Hearts* and *Purses* at his *Devotion*, if it were for no  
 other *Reason*, but to spite the establish'd *Church*, and seem to  
 outdo them in *Loyalty*. And since there are in *England* above  
 six hundred thousand *Dissenters* and *Libertines*, who wou'd ra-  
 ther pay 12 pence a *Sunday*, that is 52 shillings *per An.* than  
 be oblig'd to go to *Church*; his *Majesty* might receive above a  
*Million* and a half more upon this *Account*.

Thus I have shew'd you in part, how the *King* might raise  
*Money* enough to supply his *Necessities*, without the *Assistance*  
 of a *Parliament*; yet at the same time I must tell you, I do  
 not

not approve of the *Method*, nor do I believe *his Majesty* will ever make use of any such *Artifice*, who values more a Penny with the *Affection* of his *People*, than a Pound gain'd by any other *Means*. Nevertheless, it makes it plain, 'tis our *Interest* as well as *Duty*, not to tempt him too much; for if it be a true saying; *Cervus lacesitus Leo*, what shall a *Lyon* be, when provok'd beyond Measure?

As for that *Faction's Contrivance* of the *Cabal*, to have the *Revenue* settled but from year to year, or some limited time, 'tis so *Base* and so *Disloyal* a *Project*, that it is not to be imagin'd the *Parliament* wou'd propose, or the *King* accept of any such thing. 'Tis enough to make all *Honest Men* abhor it, that it was never off'r'd to any *King* of *England*, but to his *Majesties* *Father*, our *Royal Martyr*, whom the *Bloodhounds*, that hunted him to the *Scaffold*, thought fit to feed as it were with *Sugar-plums*, till they wheedled him out of all *Power*, and then made him a *Sacrifice* to secure their *Usurpation*. But the *Impudence* of the *Faction* is very *prodigious*, who have the *Face* to think of such a *Proposal*, and at the same time talk of the *Necessity* of a *general Act* of *Indemnity*, to forget and forgive all past *Mis-carriages*. Wou'd it please them, think you, to have such a *Pardon* as wou'd secure them from *Justice* from year to year, or from one *Session* of *Parliament* to another, as they are pleas'd to propose about the *Revenue*? Or wou'd they have the *Revenue* so *Limited*, and the *Pardon* made *Absolute*? This I am sure no *Honest man* will approve of; none, but a *Partie* in the late *Conspiracy* will offer or promote. I am sensible an *Act* of *Oblivion*, provided the *Crown* were secur'd against further Attempts, wou'd be a great Means to quiet *Peoples* minds; whereof a great many are still *Apprehensive*, the *Conspirators*, that fled from *Justice*, will one time or other be taken, or freely come in, and to save their own *Bacon*, will discover their *Accomplices* in that *Hellish Design*, which (as *Captain Walcot* confess'd in his last *Speech* at *Tyburn*) was laid very deep, and the *King* had a great many men to take *Judgment* of: But otherwise 'tis only acquitting the *Faction* of all their former *Contrivances*, and exposing the *Monarchy* to their future *Designs*.

This wou'd be a *Fatal Error* indeed, and of so pernicious a *Consequence*, that we need not fear there will be any such *Pardon* granted,

granted, without good *Provision* made on the other side to keep the *Disaffected* in awe. And 'tis manifest there is no possibility of providing for, or securing the *Crown*, nor consequently the *Peace* and *Tranquillity* of his *Majesties* good Subjects, any other way than by settling for ever a *sufficient Revenue* for the *Support* and *Defence* of the *Government* against all the *Machinations* of its *Enemies*. For to settle a *fond*, tho otherwise considerable, for a term of years, or during *Life*, is like the *Jesuits Powder*, which puts the *ill Humors* asleep for some time, but destroys not the *Original Cause* of the *Distemper*. And if we consider that the *Nation* wou'd think it less grievous, to be tax'd yearly a *Million* of *Money* for seven years together, than oblig'd to pay four *Millions* in any one year, without being charg'd a *Farthing* for the other six, because the former operates like *Physical Dyet*, but the later like a *Violent Purgation*, we shall find 'tis no less the *Peoples* than the *Princes* Interest to have the *Revenue* made certain and perpetual. It was well observ'd by the best *Parliament* that ever met in our *Days*, *That nothing conduceth more to the Peace and Prosperity of a Nation, and the Protection of every single Person therein, than that the Publick Revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the Publick Charge and Expence.* 13 & 14 Car. 2. Cap. 10. Sect. 1. Since therefore the *Charges* of the *Government* are for the most part *perpetual*, is it not the *undoubted Interest* of all *Honest Men*, and particularly of those that have any thing to lose, to allow and settle upon the *Crown* for ever such a *proportionable Revenue*, as may secure them in the peaceable *Possession* of the rest? As for the present, 'tis our *Comfort*, that *God* in his *Mercy* has been pleas'd to set a *Prince* to reign over us, so extraordinarily qualified for the greatest *Undertakings*, that we may well conclude, *He was born to retrieve the sinking Glory of the English Nation*, in whom the *Prudence* of *Henry* the seventh, and the *Courage* of *Henry* the Eighth, without the *Dross*, either of the *formers* close *Parcimony*, or of the *laters* too much *Severity*, do meet in *Perfection*: So that in His *Days* notwithstanding all the *Snarlings* of an *inveterate* sort of *People*, we need not fear any considerable *Disturbance*. But if it please *God* to call him, which I heartily wish may not be till after a *Long* and *Prosperous Reign*, from an *Earthly* to a *Heavenly Crown*, and leave no *Issue Male*, or but a *Child* to succeed him, what shall then become of the *Monarchy*,



At the same time the greatest part of the Revenue happens to expire: The people will dwindle afresh into several *Parties* and *Factions*, the *Republicans* have an opportunity to push for their *Darling Commonwealth*, and the *Crown* because poor, and the *Successor* not very active, will be in danger of being made a *Prey* by the *strongest Arm and longest Sword*; which will inevitably turn our *British Paradise* into a *Field of Blood*, and involve the three *Kingdoms* in endless *Confusions*.

To prevent therefore such *Fatal Calamities*, as I do not question your *Zeal* in the Matter, so I hope your *Fellow-Members*, and the whole *Representative Wisdom* of the Nation, *King, Lords and Commons*, will take effectual care to secure your *Country*, not only in your own days, but as far as possible, for *Future Generations*. If you consider, how stiff and unreasonably obstinate People are sometimes, who like the *Foolish Members* in the *Apologue* combining against the *Belly*, refuse to help their *Prince*, tho' to prevent their own and their *Countries* ruine, you can have no Reason to leave a business of such Importance, as the *Welfare* of your *Posterity*, to blind chance, or to the *Humor and Capricio* of pretended *Patriots*. The taking of *Constantinople* by *Mahomet the Great* gives us a remarkable instance of this sort of *Madness*, which made the *Grecians* of a *Learned flourishing Nation*, become the most ignorant *Peasants*, and the *veriest Slaves* in Nature. The poor *Emperor* went, as it were for *Alms* from door to door, begging of the *Rich Citizens* to contribute a little *Money* to enable him against the *Common Enemy*: but they pleaded *Poverty*, and wou'd not part with a *Farthing*, till the *Town* was taken by *Storm*, and three hundred Millions of their *Money* brought into the *Conquerors* Coffers; who wondering how so *Rich a City* cou'd be so easily won, said, *If these People had bestow'd but three Millions of this Money in defence of their City, I cou'd never have taken it.* But what need we go into *Foreign Countries*, when we have instances enough at *Home*, and within our own *Memory*, to convince us of this Truth. The strange usage *King C H A R L E S* the first, and his late *Majesty* for some years past, receiv'd from an *ungrateful sort of People*, (who the more *Gracious* and obliging they found their *Prince*, the more *Stiff and Refractory* still they grew, to the undoing almost of the whole *Nation*) is warning enough to all honest and thinking *Men*, to provide against such dangerous *Fits of Madness* for the future.

Trust, takes care to be so, while it is  
 made, as would for ever secure the Crown from all future Attempts,  
 both *Forreign* and *Domestick*; but then, on the other side, what  
 security could the People have, that the Prince would not in two  
 or three Generations shake off his Parliaments, and make himself  
*absolute*? This, I must confess, is a very *Popular Objection*, and the  
 main *Block* in our way to a *Happy Settlement*, which is never to  
 be hop'd for without a mutual Confidence between Prince and Peo-  
 ple: yet we see, it weigh'd not with the *Parliament of Scotland*, whose  
 steady *Loyalty* in the late times of *Trial*, and now in making the  
*Revenue* of that Kingdom *Perpetual*, has made all possible a-  
 mends for the many Evils the *Scotch Covenant* has formerly brought  
 upon us. And I hope, it shall never be said, that an *English Par-*  
*liament* will be behind them in *Duty* or *Affection* to their Prince, or  
 less mindful of the *Publick*; especially when they can have no  
 other grounds for so doing, but bare unsupposable possibilities of  
 future Inconveniences. For it is not to be imagin'd by *Rational Men*,  
 that any *King of England* will ever be so far overseen, as to ha-  
 zard the loss of all the hearts of his People; the only support and  
 security of Princes, to make himself somewhat more *absolute*; while He  
 may, even by the *Laws of the Land*, be as great a *Monarch* as any good  
*Christian* can wish; and the frequent Meetings and Counsels of *King*  
 and *Parliament* are the only means to make both Prince and Peo-  
 ple *Happy*; because, as *Solomon* tells us, *Without Counsel, Purposes*  
*are disappointed; but in the multitude of Counsellours they are established.*  
 Prov. 15. 22.

Nevertheless, to obviate this and all other Objections of that  
 kind, if we seriously consider Matters, we shall find that a mid-  
 dle course may be taken, by which we may avoid all these In-  
 conveniences. For if a competent *Revenue*, that is, the *Customs*  
 and the temporary part of the *Excise*, be made perpetual, to support  
 the Crown against *Forreign* or *Domestick Designs*, upon the Death of  
 the *Sovereign*; And because this is not sufficient to defray the neces-  
 sary Charges of the Government, while our Neighbours have far great-  
 er *Revenues*, if the *Parliament* will settle an *Additional Fund* for Life,  
 whereof part shall be appropriated to particular uses, and the overplus  
 laid up in *Bank*, instead of our occasional Taxes, towards the *Expence* of  
 a *War*, &c. with this *Proviso*, that all Officers concern'd shall give the  
*Parliament* a full account of their Receipts and Disbursements, once

otherwise all further *Levies* of the same to cease ;  
and *Parliaments* and *People* will then be secur'd, *Parliaments* even  
upon this account will be found still necessary, the *Nation* much  
in raising their *Taxes*, and the *Crown* made more considerable  
both at home and abroad.

You will excuse me, I hope, if I do not any further descend to  
Particulars, or take upon me to tell you exactly, which your Fel-  
low-Members can do a great deal better, how much may be a  
sufficient Fund to answer all the ends aforementioned. 'Tis enough  
to say in general, that I see no other Rule in that Case to be made  
use of, but the Consideration of the Strength and Riches of our  
Neighbour-Nations, and that the Publick Revenue of *England* must  
bear some proportion to theirs, unless we intend to live within  
ourselves, and think no longer on trading with Forreign Countries.  
We see how much the *French* and *Dutch* have, within these fourscore  
years past, encroach'd upon our undoubted Right, the Dominion  
of the Narrow Seas, and by that upon our Trade and Commerce,  
the great Magazine of our Wealth, to the loss of many Millions  
a year to the *English* Nation. And we cannot in reason expect  
they will desist, untill we put ourselves into such a posture, as  
will make it visible to the World, we are able to cope with them,  
and to recover our own ; which yet is altogether impossible, as long  
as we have nothing else to depend upon, but temporary Taxes, to carry  
on a War ; while they have vast Sums of Money in Cash, and a  
large yearly Revenue to oppose us, the *French King* about twelve  
Millions of Pounds sterling *per an.* and the *Dutch*, who in *Queen*  
*Elix.* time still'd themselves, *The poor distressed States of Holland*,  
above five Millions, coming in yearly into their publick Trea-  
sury. For they cannot be ignorant, but that the extraordinary  
Charge of a War, falling upon us all of a sudden, will quickly make the  
*People* here so uneasy, that they will be content to quit their  
right after all their losses, and clap up a Peace on any terms, ra-  
ther than bear such heavy unusual Taxes any longer ; so that  
if our Enemies can but prolong the War for some years, they will  
by degrees weary us out, and force us at last to a Compliance.  
Whereas if they saw, we had a considerable Sum of Money in  
Cash, and the like yearly coming in, to defray the Charge of a  
War without making the *People* uneasy, they wou'd be more cau-  
tious how to offend us, and without striking a stroke wou'd be  
ready to comply with all our reasonable Demands.

( 34 )  
But because the Circulation of Money is thought as necessary to the *Body Politick*, as that of Blood to the *Natural*, and therefore the hoarding up such Sums in time of Peace wou'd prove very prejudicial to Trade, the Life and Vigour of a *Commonwealth*; this intended Bank of Money may still be laid out to use on good Securities by *Commissioners* appointed by Act of *Parliament*, some of the most knowing, most honest, and best estated of both Houses, and the Interest constantly employ'd either in building *Work-houses* for the *Strong*, and *Hospitals* for the *Sick* and *Disabled* *Poor* of the *Kingdom*, or in some publick Trade, as the *Woollen Manufacture*, *Fishing*, or the like, which will be of infinite Advantage to the whole *Body* of the *Nation*. Neither is it to be reckon'd the least, that this Method wou'd in a short time spoil the sport of *upstart cheating Bankers*, who stick like *Leeches* daily sucking the *Blood* of the credulous unwary *People*, while they can find any faith upon earth; but when that fails them, so that they can suck no more, then they drop off, and to the ruine of hundreds of poor families wilfully break for many thousands of Pounds, tho perhaps not one of them had a hundred to begin withal, and run into the *Fryers* or the *Kings-Bench*, where they live like petty *Princes* upon the Fortunes of poor *Widows* and *Orphans*, to whom in case they condescend to come to any Composition, they will hardly allow a Crown in the Pound of their Principal Money. And which is very strange, there is no *Corporal Punishment* here, as in *Foreign Countries*, not so much as the *Pillory* to be inflicted in this Case, nor any other Remedy to be had, if the *Bankrupt* has the wit to secure his Books and Money, which he may easily do, when he designedly breaks to defraud his *Creditors*.

This is a hard case indeed, and a very great grievance, well worth the *Parliaments Care* to contrive such Laws as may prevent the like for the future; But the *Devil of Perjury* is the grand Grievance of all, which best deserves their most serious Consideration: For if such as deal with *Bankrupts* are ruin'd in their *Estates*, and if upon that account others are frightned from laying out their Money, because for a little Gain they will not hazard the loss of their whole Fortune, which is a main obstruction to Trade; the *True-Protestant Playl* of *Perjury* will not only ruine *People* in their Fortunes, but will *Hocus Pocus* them out of their *Innocence*, and sweep *Estate*, *Reputation*, *Life* and all away, to the utter undoing of whole *Families*. Yet  
certainly



upon the Road, without any more ado; but if a Banker cheats the *Trust* of his Majesties Subjects, of Millions of Money, and run but get into the *Fryers* or *Kings-Bench*, he is as safe as a *Flax* in a Mill, and cares not a straw whether his Creditors do live or starve. And which is yet worse, if a forsworn Villain will set up for a *Kings* Evidence, and by his Perjuries murder never so many innocent Subjects, all he is to suffer, is to stand in the Pillory, or lose his more harmless Ears, instead of his *Murdering Tongue*. Whereas the Divine Law expressly orders, that *Whosoever sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed*, Gen. 9. 6.

But the Truth is, tho' the Fundamentals of our Constitutions be undoubtedly the best Laws in the world, and the most suitable to the *Genius* of the *English* Nation; yet we have several defects on the one hand, and a great deal of rubbish on the other; that want a Reformation, the proper province of *King* and *Parliament*. And in this case, as I am certain of your Zeal, so I doubt not but your Fellow-Members will be forward enough to promote so good a Work, whereon the happiness of this Nation so much depends, which some of their Predecessors have strangely neglected. For I find the *French Gentleman* was not very much out in his Observation, when he said, that as the *Roman* Conclave's overbusy'ing themselves with Temporal Matters and State-Affairs, which was none of their business, did no small injury to the Christian Religion; so several Members of our House of Commons for some years past, meddling too much with Religion, and prying into Intrigues of State, which was quite out of their \* Sphere, made them very much neglect the true Interest of their Country. But now, I hope, we have got a true English Parliament, that will zealously promote the Good of the Publick, disable the Faction from making any disturbance, settle a sufficient Revenue upon the Crown, to support the Grandeur and necessary Charge of the Government, repeal the useles and enact new Laws for the advancement of Trade, and in a word, make their King as happy in this, as ever any of his Ancestors have been in their most Loyal and bountiful Parliaments: Which, because the only way to a *Lasting Settlement*, is the hearty wish of

\* 35 Eliz. The Queen herself told the Commons, It was not meant they shou'd meddle with matters of State, or Causes Ecclesiastical. And the like did K. James 1. Sandersons Hist. p. 510.

SIR,

Your &c.

7. May  
1685

F I N I S.